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Korean Affairs Report

(FOUO 4/80)



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KOREAN AFFAIRS REPORT

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S. KOREA/POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

CURRENT ROK SITUATION DESCRIBED THROUGH EYES OF DISSIDENTS

Tokyo SEKAI in Japanese Apr 80 pp 258-277

[Article by T.K.: "Politics of Another Land--News from South Korea"]

[Text] Amid Torture

Since 4 February, 73 defendants have been put on trial when the hearings into the so-called "South Korean Racial Liberation Front" incident were convened. Because of the sizable number of defendants, separate questioning is being conducted on the charge of scheming to communicate with North Korea for the overthrow of the ROK Government. They are the victims of the martial law authorities and the government which releases political offenders on one hand but continues to apprehend the others even after the Emergency Measure No 9 has been lifted.

On trial are 73 defendants, but many more are said to be hiding somewhere. Numerous antigovernment elements have been implicated in this incident. Among them are completely innocent people who were rounded up along with those formerly working for the intelligence. Many believe it to be an incident trumped up by Pak Chong-hui's Chongwadae to wipe out the antistructure forces on the eve of the 26 October incident. The 73 individuals were the first in a series of arrests to get at the root of the antistructure movement. What will be the outcome of this incident in the post-Pak Chong-hui period? Controls have been instituted, with passes to the hearings being distributed at the rate of one per defendant.

When will this country ever cease its attack on communism? While professing its desire to conduct talks with the North, it never relaxes its stand against communism. When will it ever cease this practice [of attacking communism]--the most effective weapon to insure the existence of an incompetent and corrupt authority?

The Christian elements taking part in labor movements have been branded as communists as well. The government, using agents, has conducted nationwide lecture-meetings and made full use of television and radio stations. When thwarted in the Seoul area because of protests of church groups, it

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continued its activities in outlying areas. Pamphlets were distributed and the mass communications media was utilized. Taking the most active role, in lectures and writings, is one Hong Chi-yong of unknown background. A recent rumor is that he studied at Japan's Army Intelligence School in Nakano around 1942. Many are hoping that his activities will also be investigated in Japan. He has even spread a rumor in the military that the antiestablishment Christians connected with such things as labor movements are communists. The situation is that some conscientious military men regret that his influence is even now controlling the thinking of the military.

On 25 January, sentences were handed down to 17 persons, including Yi Po-son and Ham Sok-hon. The charge was they had held a political meeting, under the guise of a wedding ceremony, on 24 November of last year at Myongdong YWCA Hall in violation of the martial law proclamation. Yi Po-son was sentenced to 2 years of imprisonment and the others received 1-to 4-year terms. Some involved in the case stated that the investigation provided a good opportunity to talk with the military which views all antiestablishment elements as communists. They were greatly tortured, but it appears that many investigators were much impressed by the temperament of the young people. The trial was a speedy one, with sentences being demanded by the prosecution after only two hearings. Here, we shall introduce a few of those final statements to illustrate the posture and determination of the fighters.

Yi U-hoe (Chairman, Democratic Youth Council)

The current emergency martial law is null and void. It is merely designed to suppress the people's voice against the constitutional revision. Just as we fought against the Yusin constitution, we must fight the emergency martial law known as Emergency Measure No 10. Putting even President Yi Po-son on trial after torture on groundless charges is extremely disgraceful. The investigative report on me is a record of my weakness and shame. We are all innocent, as this trial is founded on violence of torture.

Ch'oe Yŏl (Vice chairman, Democratic Youth Council)

I offer my final statement in tribute to my mother sitting in the spectator's section. On 1 May 1961 when I was in first grade in middle school, a military coup by Maj Gen Pak Chong-hui erupted. While wiping the glass pane in the classroom, I realized what the "revolutionary pledge" of that time was. It definitely meant that revolutionary tasks should be completed speedily in order to return to the military's primary duties. On 17 February 1962, in a speech at the Citizens' Hall, he promised to transfer government powers to civilian rule. In 1963, during the presidential inauguration ceremony, he vowed to achieve a peaceful transfer of government powers during his tenure. In spring of 1969, when opposition to constitutional amendment mounted, he denied any intent to continue as president after the

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constitutional amendment. But on 14 September of that same year, the government party met at the No 3 annex building of the National Assembly and arbitrarily passed an amendment providing for three terms in office. On 26 April 1971, the day before the presidential election, President Pak Chong-hui, with tears in his eyes, told a crowd at Changch'ungdan Park in Seoul that this would be his final term. The following day, we university students monitored the election and noted numerous irregularities.

On 17 October 1972, he again tabled the constitution, proclaimed martial law, ordered tanks to the National Assembly, closed down all universities, pointed tanks and machine guns and forcibly imposed the Yusin constitution. This was the second coup. When the 2 October 1973 demonstration by Seoul University students later developed into a democratization movement and appeal for constitutional amendment, he court-martialed numerous democratic people by legislating Emergency Measure No 1. On 3 April 1974 when the students were about to stage a nationwide demonstration, he trumped up the so-called Democratic Youth Student Federation incident, passed sentences ranging from a minimum of 5 years to life or capital punishment. On 13 May 1975, Emergency Measure No 9 was promulgated. Finally on 26 October 1979, he was killed at the hands of Kim Chae-kyu, the Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA) director. If Pak Chong-hui were a true leader, there would have been no turmoil upon his death. But in view of the martial law still in effect, he must not have been a leader of the people in the true sense of the word.

I wish to explain how I, studying to be a natural scientist, came to oppose the election of a president by the National Conference for Unification. In 1969 when constitutional amendment was still a highly controversial subject, I spent my 15 days of summer vacation visiting fishing villages, farms and remote areas. The rural people all expressed opposition to constitutional revision and dictatorship and discussed the end of dictators. After listening to them, I staged anticonstitutional amendment demonstrations in schools. Around that time, I felt it an honor for me to be taken to court along with Pak Chong-t'ae and Yang Sun-chik, both National Assembly members from the ruling Republican Party who opposed the constitutional revision to allow three terms. In 1971, school drills were instituted as a means to control the schools. We demonstrated in opposition and even published underground newspapers. That same year, the teaching staff made a university professors' declaration, while the judges of the Ministry of Justice made a declaration of independence. And at Kwangju housing complex, tens of thousands of residents staged a mass demonstration. Finally on 15 October, a garrison order was issued, under which some 180 key members of various universities were forcibly conscripted into the armed forces. On 26 October, they departed Yongsan Station for the Nonsan training center, seen off by thousands of their schoolmates. When many students wept, I recall that Ham Sok-hon, who is now here, encouraged them, saying "look up at the sky."

I greeted the October Yusin of 1972 while serving in the army. We soldiers sent in our absentee ballots for the mid-November referendum. I had to

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watch many of my comrades cast open ballots in the presence of our instructors. En route back to my unit from the chemical training unit, I called, in combat attire, on Paek Ki-wan, the head of Paekpom Research Institute, who is now here with me. He said, "Thank you for coming. Please read it," handing me a book titled, "Anti-Japan Racial Theory." For the next 3 years, my job was erecting steel fences along the front line, and even while working in a blizzard with temperatures around 30 degrees below zero, I used to read this book. I thought about the countless number of patriots who had perished during the volunteer movements (1896, 1906). I thought about the fact that compared to many comrades who had only graduated from people's schools and middle schools, I was able to enjoy special privileges for 17 years from kindergarten to university under this country's social system, and I decided to pay back these privileges to those from here on. During this army life, I learned on 3 April 1974 that my schoolmates had received the supreme punishment in connection with the Democratic Youth Student Federation incident. At the time, I was 24 years old and began to think about death. Death does not come only to those in their 60's or 70's; it can come to me if I engage in the democratization movement. I agonized whether I could surmount death somehow. I reached a decision. Although I was not a religious person, I would be able to die if my fatherland truly needed me.

I was discharged on 15 August 1974, the day Madam Yuk Yong-su was shot. As my colleagues received either death, life or 15-year sentences, I worked for their release. I graduated from the university in February 1975. Even though I was graduating, universities still had Students' Defense Corps, and I felt that I could not leave my fellow students behind in a state under which the government appointed the division commander, regimental commander, battalion commander and company commander.

In June 1975, while engaged in opposition activities, I was sentenced to 6 years of imprisonment on the charge of violation of Emergency Measure No 9 in connection with the Myongdong Catholic Students' incident, but decided not to appeal. I recall that trial vividly. The 22 of us had rejected the very Yusin constitution and Emergency Measure No 9, as well as this trial; 8 members even renounced their right of appeal. I learned many things after spending 4 years in prison: that one does not find out what freedom is through books or learning alone. After 2 years of imprisonment, we were informed that we would be released if we prepared a statement promising not to oppose the Yusin structure, but I refused. At first, my mother urged me to write the statement so that I can get out. But after coming down to see me from distant Taegu, she said, "I don't in the least want to see you released by yourself. Be sure you're all released together." I could not sleep that night after hearing those words. I began wondering why my mother had said those things to a son who has been imprisoned for 4 years and spending a solitary life in temperatures 20° below zero. Things that happened in the past and many other things kept on flashing before my very eyes.

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My younger friends joined me in prison. They had renounced their vested rights to study at universities. There were many carefree students unable to vent their discontent. Even while confined in cells measuring less than 36 square feet, they had never given up hope. I was able to learn from them and observed their ray of hope. I realized I must work harder. Two out of 4 years of my imprisonment were spent in solitary confinement. I was occasionally beaten by the guards. On numerous occasions, I protested the spoiled foods served and many times I went on a hunger strike. At such times, I could not help but become preoccupied as to why young people of our country had to stake their lives on such matters as "the food is spoiled, take it away!" while the young men of other lands were directing their energy and passion toward space development, food and energy problems.

Though I was released on 12 May 1979 on a stay of execution, my thoughts lingered on. I observed the wife of pastor Mun Ik-hwan and her 80-year-old mother glued to the church's seats and concrete floor for 1 month, not in prayer for the release of their son but for the restoration of democracy. I felt that "we still had a long way to go." After release, I met many people, and their grudges overwhelmed me. One was a female factory worker who after serving a prison term for violation of the emergency measure was hiding her identity and working 12 to 14 hours a day in Pusan. And upon hearing the tune, "Wondering in Chingu," sung by a Yonsei university student imprisoned for 3 years and 6 months, the grudge that he bore deep inside his heart struck me profoundly. There was a need to create a country without such grudges. All throughout the 1970's, I could not live with my family. My younger brother, then in primary school, is now a university student. I heard that he too was arrested for violation of Emergency Measure No 9, but had been released.

I have the blessings of three men, the victims of the 1970's. They are warrior Chon T'ae-il who burned himself to death at the peace market in 1970 for the sake of laborers; Kim Sang-chin, a 4th year agricultural student of Seoul University who took his own life on 11 April 1975 after reading an open letter to the president and his will, and Kim Kyong-suk who lost her life over the YH incident on 11 August 1979. Partly in order to carry out their wishes, I could not help vowing to continue my struggle. For a democratic society and racial unity, I shall fight on with a deep-rooted sense of survival, standing up under even greater setbacks, hardships and agony.

Yang Kwan-su (Vice chairman, Standing Committee, Democratic Youth Council)

It was a grave error when the antiracial elements of the Japanese imperialist days were allowed to go scot free at the time of the 15 August liberation. As a result, the sanity of our race became cloudy, and they spared no efforts to insure their survival. It was only natural for us in our 24 November declaration to demand the ouster of the so-called Yusin remnants. Backed by authority or those who think nothing of betraying the people, there are

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groups committing irregularities and whose members still walk in society with their heads up high.

It was after I entered the university in 1970 that I myself came to realize the unscrupulousness of the 16 May military regime. For objecting to school drills, I was conscripted into the army. One day in November 1973, I cast my ballot in a referendum for the first time in my life. My company commander, a military academy graduate, who was slated for transfer, stayed on for an additional month because of the election. He administered the election as the incoming officer stood by. After entering the polling station, I was told by my company commander to "stamp for approval." I then countered, "Why is the honorable company commander requiring me to vote in the affirmative when this was the first exercise of my rights as an ROK citizen?" Without addressing me as "Private Yang," he responded, "Even if Mr Yang stamped in the 'X' column, it will all be changed into 'O' [column] after the ballot box gets back to division headquarters. Then, this company commander will be in trouble and the company harassed. I understand your feelings, but that would be foolish." When I insisted on marking the "X" space, he filled in the "O" space himself. A great remorse came over me to think that the Yusin Constitution won the people's support in such a manner after depriving them of their sovereign power. After my discharge in August 1974, I made up my mind to stake my life on toppling this Yusin structure. I have believed in the strength of our race for 36 years under the Japanese rule, waged an incessant fight under countless sacrifices and believed in the strength that drove Syngman Rhee out of power. And, finally, the incident of 26 October of last year came.

During the 10 years of dictatorship, the Pak regime committed many crimes. Because it dispatched troops to Vietnam, the country became isolated internationally. In economy, there is complete external dependence. Crimes committed in internal politics are too numerous to mention. Yet, the elements that once uttered, "Yusin is the only way of life; those opposing it are our enemy," now claim to be working for democratization. If this world becomes a place where those who were criminals for 19 years can walk boldly in the streets, the people's anger will probably hit the sky. Those who have committed crimes during our history ought to be punished. And those about to come into power must be fearful of the history and of the people who will judge them.

Who can trust the obscure statement made last year by acting President Ch'oe Hyu-ha to enact a constitutional amendment as soon as possible? Why is he becoming president under the Yusin Constitution which is slated to be abrogated? The Myongdong YWCA incident was schemed because of the belief that Yusin remnants were in conspiracy. I shall continue to fight.

Yi Sang-ik (Executive member, Ecumenical Youth Council)

I will probably work in accordance with my Christian conscience until my life that God has given me comes to an end. I wish to say a few words

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about the torture I underwent at the Army Security Headquarters. Upon arrival at that headquarters, I was ordered to change into a military uniform which was horribly stained with blood and shoemarks. Some of us were in an undescrivable condition: ears or mouths split, gaping wounds below the eyes or broken arms. In such extreme conditions, I even thought of committing suicide, aware that to do so was a sin as a Christian.

Pak Chong-yŏl (Executive officer, South Korean Student Christian Federation)

Democracy is a structure under which those in good faith compete against each other. Yet, dissidents are branded as communists and thrown in jail. There can be no democracy in such a situation. If President Choe Kyu'ha fails to punish those who are corrupt and unjust, a new government might do so. To leave behind a good legacy for posterity, self-sacrifice will be unavoidable. The Myongdong YWCA amounted to a fair and proper assembly to awaken the masses.

Paek Ki-wan (Head, Paekpom Ideological Research Institute)

Will it mean that the Choe Kyu-ha structure would be able to assume the load that Pak failed to do? The constitutional amendment should be undertaken by the people critical of the constitution. Now, it has been said that the forces defending Yusin would do so. Isn't this a contradiction? I hope the trial will result in a step forward in the history of our fatherland.

Yi Pon-son (former president)

It is encouraging to see so many outstanding students in our country. Chief judge, how can you punish such patriotic students? If you must, punish me instead. You punish these outstanding young patriots instead of rewarding them? What grudge do you hold against them when you mercilessly torture and punish these young people who oppose Yusin for the country? Where in the martial law does it state about the practices which anger both God and man? The Martial Law Headquarters ought to punish the torturers and offer an apology to the people. Our country was safe because of the courage and valor of our army, but things appear unduly tilted lately. Do you also intend to sentence people like Ham Sok-hon, Yang Sun-chik and Pak Chong-t'ae? Prof Ham was even nominated abroad for the Nobel Peace Prize. How could such a thing happen in a country like ours which is not supposed to be barbaric? The rally of 24 November enhanced our image abroad. In such countries as the United States and France, ROK citizens came to be regarded as rational beings. We are praised abroad but punished in our country. Do you mean to say that we are still governed by the ashes of Pak Chong-hui? Isn't it illogical to punish those who served in good faith for the good of the country?

The military hearings were dramatic. For how long would the confrontation between the contemptible influential figures and righteous dissidents

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continue? The forces commanded by Chon Tu-hwan, the Army security commander, are indeed outrageous and ruthless. Will we South Koreans be able to swim through the muddy waters of such politics?

The Appellate Hearing of Kim Chae-kyu

On 30 January, the appellate court rendered a decision on the Christian Academy case. Of the seven defendants, four were given a stay of execution or were found innocent and released. Prof Chong Ch'ang-yol said: "I was ashamed to have been jailed without having done anything worthy. I recall the passage in the Bible, 'When fighting against sin, you have not yet resisted until you bleed.' Next time I go to jail I wish to be jailed after having fought and bled. There is even a relaxed mood in prison. I felt that I was able to understand the feelings of those jailed often." Kim Chung-t'ae said, "I could not bear the thought of giving in to such violence." Remarked Hwang In-song, "While in prison, I felt I was able to detect a uniformity in the dual aspects of Christian faith and farm problems. For the first time I was able to read the Bible with great inspiration. Before, the passages were dead and cold, but now, they are alive and close to me. While under unbearable treatment as a leftist prisoner, I thought instantly about the crucified Jesus. I discovered that pastors endured their captivity through faith in God. I learned what Minister Mun Ik-hwan meant when he said that one must be resigned to breaching the anticommunist law in order to restore democracy." He added that from his cell near the athletic ground for conscientious inmates, he would exchange glances or wave to them to help pass the time. Sin In-yong, a woman who was released, gives a lengthy description of her experience:

What I discovered in prison was this--those committing irregularities amounting to several tens of millions or even 100 million won were released quickly, while those stealing 2,000 won because of difficult livelihood spent years in prison. One early Christmas morning, I was truly encouraged when I heard from the hills beyond the Sodaemun detention center, the voices of our comrades singing "Oh, Freedom" and chanting "release XX"....

During the 3 June 1964 incident (opposition movement against ROK-Japan talks), Kim Chung-t'ae of Seoul University was subjected to electric-shock torture. I could never forget what he said. "Electric-shock torture is unlike anything such as beatings. Some day, you too may face it. Bleeding will ease the pain slightly. To keep from biting the tongue and becoming mute, bite your lips." Shortly thereafter, I too was arrested and detained in Tongdaemun Police Station. But that time was not so bad, I was often released due to denial of arrest warrants. On the third day just prior to my release, I was taken to a small room in the basement. There I saw electric cord strung all over the wall. Instantly, my whole body quivered and my teeth chattered at the thought of electric-shock torture. I felt I would rather be shot to death than undergoing such torture. But

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it turned out that the room was used for taking photographs of prisoners with a nameplate on the chest. I fully realized my miserable plight at the time.

Then I was beaten in the basement of the CIA. Han Myong-yol, detained in the last room, was subjected to torture beyond description. She had been arrested 5 days before my arrest. Riger's solution was always taken to her room. Food consisted of rice gruel. From the adjoining room where Prof Yi U-chaе was held, screams continued to be heard even after the questioning. I could no longer think straight and lost my memory. I could not even remember my home telephone number; perhaps this happened because they would not let me sleep for over 10 days. Upon entering the courtroom and seeing others in better shape, I lost self-confidence. I thought I would like to lead a quiet life; even if I were to work, I may ruin everything. When asked to write down the names of 10, 20 or 100 persons, I ended up jotting down all the names that I could remember....

I felt as if I were in paradise after being moved from the KCIA to the detention center. I slept most of the time. A Bible was placed in my cell. My faith always fluctuated. Around the time of the 3 June incident while in the 4th year of Ehwa Women's University, I used to conceal myself in the basement wearing a maid's uniform. In those days, I used to pray in tears with a lonely heart. One day while praying in tears at Taegu, a woman spoke to me and said, "I came here because God told me to come in my prayer. I shall pray for you." She began to pray. She said to me that God told her that he loved me. Like a drowning man reaching for a straw to grasp, I suddenly recalled that event. "This bunch has put their hands on me despite the fact that God loves me. The collapse of Pak Chong-hui is inevitable." I began to think in this manner and prayed that this would happen. When the news of the 26 October incident reached me, I rejoiced that God had heard at least my prayer. Subsequently, I felt rather ashamed for being so simple-minded at my age of 36....

The detention center was great. I was able to get a good rest for a change. It was a place of residence. Yet, even now, I feel that I cannot go back to work until the KCIA is disbanded. While I was under KCIA investigation, I was afraid of being secretly put to death. Following the investigation, the investigator loosened up and said I would be treated better. I was struck by those remarks, even leading me to thinking that perhaps I should depend more on them instead of God. Indeed, had I been released at that time, I probably would have been contacting them for protection. A few female laborers on our side went over to their side, but I could almost understand [why they changed sides]. I am grateful to God for my being transferred to the detention center rather than released. I am filled with a sense of shame.

On 29 January, ROK Army Chief of Staff Yi Hui-song upheld the sentences of the appellate court relative to the Pak Chong-hui murder case. Only Kim Kye-won, ex-presidential chief secretary, was spared and sentenced to

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life. It was in reaction to foreign views that though Kim's complicity was a fact even when characterized as a simple criminal case, he should not be put to death. This trial, including the appeals, is of doubtful nature. I happen to have the galley-proof of an article on the lower court proceedings which had been seized by martial law authorities. It relates that Kim Chae-kyu, in his younger days, possessed a strong sense of justice. When he was a first lieutenant and refused to cooperate with a communist regimental commander, he was relieved of his post on the ground of failure to perform his duties as duty officer during a disturbance at a soccer game by bodyguards. Though he was reinstated 2 years later, his promotions came slower compared to his colleagues. He often voiced his anger over corrupt superiors. He talked about the time he was in the fourth year of primary school as follows:

When passing a charcoal market on the way home from school, I saw a Japanese policeman kicking a charcoal peddler. The policeman was haggling over the price, demanding that the peddler come down from 15 sen to 5 sen a bundle. The peddler was forced to give in. When I saw that, I said aloud that "this policeman is a thief!" I was detained for an hour or two until my father came and took me home. My father said, "Your actions were commendable, but the man needs to learn how to endure."

Around November 1972 when Kim Chae-kyu was the Third Army Corps commander and was moving on to some other position, Kim reportedly brought out a tape recorder and made a recommendation on retirement from public office in the presence of Pak Chong-hui then visiting the headquarters. Kim was armed with a 4.5 caliber pistol as he was handed a certificate of appointment as head of the Ministry of Construction on 14 September 1974. He said at the time that he kept 5 copies of his last testament to the people and his family in a desk in his home and carried in the inner pocket of his coat a national flat inscribed with the words, "democracy, civil rights, freedom and equality." After becoming the chief of KCIA in December 1976, he purportedly tried to resort to persuasion to have his own ways but in vain. In April of last year, he plotted an assassination but failed. He believed that as Pak Chong-hui was the backbone of the Yusin structure, democratization was not possible unless Pak either abolished it or was exterminated.

Kim's calligraphy in Chinese characters which says, "For Democracy and Justice" and "Misdeed, Reason, Law, Authority and Heaven" were submitted to the trial division by his lawyer. The latter meant that misdeed had to submit to reason and law to authority, but that even authority was no match for heaven. Kim even referred to 15 May and 26 February incidents in Japan, holding that subordinates acting on orders should be pardoned. Let us quote a statement he gave just before the hearing was interrupted from the galley-proof:

Were it not for the 26 October revolution, free democracy would not have been possible in this country even now... Though the revolution was not a complete success, I have no regrets as the foundation of free democracy has been established. I regret that I cannot see the revolution through to its

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completion. I would like all of you to work for the complete restoration of free democracy. I feel like a victorious general officer being apprehended due to some turn of events. (At this moment, the legal officer interrupted and asked him to make such a statement during the closing arguments, but Kim kept on speaking in a louder tone.) Judge, the trial division is backed by the Yusin structure, but I stand here backed by free democracy. (When these words reverberated throughout, the chief judge abruptly adjourned the session, saying, "The morning session has now ended. It will be resumed at 1400 hours.")

I was able to obtain the full text of Kim Chae-kyu's closing statement before the lower court. It opens with the remarks, "Words are stuck in my throat, but I shall try to explain fully." The "aim of the 26 October revolution" allegedly was to "restore free democracy," "check further sacrifices on the part of the nation" and improve international relations with such countries as the United States. At the end of his statement, Kim said, "I regret that I will not be here to witness the restoration of free democracy. But I can die with a smile as everything has been assured." He appealed for a magnanimous disposition of his conscientious subordinates, saying, "Give me capital punishment but not to the others."

The "statement of reasons for appeal" by the defense and Kim Chae-kyu's own "supplemental statement of reasons for appeal" clearly illustrates Kim's character, posture and determination. In order to transform Pak Chong-hui's constitution and nation, there could have been no one else to make such a judgment amid such strict security. He tended to act rashly without taking things into account. He reportedly told his subordinates involved in the incident, "If the country commits a wrong, you and I must die for the sake of democracy." But the problem was that the forces--which believed that their lives could be endangered if the Pak Chong-hui structure should disintegrate in favor of free democracy, justice and equality--were stronger than what Kim Chae-kyu had envisioned. Their hatred for Kim was intense. One of them is security chief Chon Tu-hwan who directed the 12 December reactionary coup.

There is a growing popular support for Kim Chae-kyu who is regarded as a hero. But there are also mounting pessimistic views that the hostility of Chon Tu-hwan's group may drive Kim to death. The people believe that a character like Chon Tu-hwan will stop at nothing. During the 12 December incident, his group sent out 100 tanks and armored vehicles to Seoul, some reportedly equipped with missiles. Because of confrontation by opposing forces, Seoul was on the verge of becoming a sea of flames. General Yu Pyong-hyŏn, now chairman of Joint Chiefs of Staff, worked frantically to avert warfare. The side heeding the appeal eventually lost, but Chon Tu-hwan's group's stance was such that they would not even cease firing. The present Army Chief of Staff General Yi Hui-song who purportedly assumes a relatively neutral stand, mediated between the two opposing forces. But the military forces under his command have not yet abandoned their harsh posture toward Kim Chae-kyu.

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Such organizations as the association of disabled military police and the ROK bereaved family association of military police killed in action are becoming active. Their activities, even under Pak Chong-hui, were indeed sinister because of links with authority in the background. Last autumn around the time Kim Yong-sam was ousted from the National Assembly, these organizations moved, as if in prelude, to attack the New Democratic Party. Then, in a letter to Martial Law Headquarters, they demanded a crackdown of "those caught in the trend of almighty politics and behaving indiscriminately" and warned about the North Korean menace. With respect to Kim Chae-kyu, they reportedly stated, "We cannot contain our indignation at the impudence in court, showing no repentance over the great treason of slaying the head of state. It is demanded that the people's suspicion of lenient treatment of the principles of law be swept away." It was a bold demand for the death penalty for Kim Chae-kyu and the others. The Martial Law Headquarters, which had been ignoring all pleas, was quick to respond and concur with the views outlined in the letter. It announced that "The guilt being fully evident in the process of hearings, a stern sentence under legal procedure would be proper for the achievement of legal national order and historic mission."

The authority's dialogue which is contrary to the facts shows that things differ little from the Pak Chong-hui's era. Despite closed hearings which left many riddles, they impudently claim them as being open trial. They talk about restoring lawful national order and remaining faithful to the historic mission, even though they were responsible for the national crises such as the 12 December incident. Nowadays, a sane person most likely will not demand a stern punishment for Kim Chae-kyu who paved the road toward democratization and stemmed sacrifices by the people. His popularity has been growing in his birthplace at Sonsan, North Kyongsang Province and petition movements are anticipated. Even the students there consider him as one of the greatest warriors since An Chung-kun who assassinated Hirobumi Ito. Strangely, it was 70 years ago on 26 October that An Chung-kun killed Ito. It was the same in Pusan and Masan where the people staged an uprising. The military establishment's efforts to mobilize government-backed bodies such as the association of disabled military police to counter public opinion seemed to have been futile. It is indeed trickery in coming to the support of public utterances of a body distrusted by the people.

Many facts heretofore unknown come to light in the "statement of reasons for appeal" and the "supplemental statement of reasons for appeal." The defense has indicated that in the lower court, memos were always being delivered to the judge from the outside whenever crucial points were discussed. Kim Chae-kyu's pen name was "hydraulics," which probably means to live like a flowing water. A Buddhist, he is now said to be just praying to Kwannon Bhosatsu with a rosary of peace fruit in his hands. We shall not touch on the legal concepts covered in the "statement of reasons for appeal," but while the military is attempting to obtain an immediate judgment on the basis of a simple criminal case, the defense is resisting on

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the ground that it is a political case. The military wants to treat it as a simple murder case, but the people are trying to see it as a fight for democracy. I always have a feeling that military pressure may lead to some unexpected turn of events.

In his "supplemental statement of reasons for appeal," Kim Chae-kyu stresses that the slaying of Pak Chong-hui amounts precisely to a revolution. He says that as Pak himself was the constitution and country, killing him constituted an act of revolution. He indicates that it was no simple case of "accident." Concerning the torture, it states:

"At dawn of 27 October 1979, he was taken to the west ice storage room in the security headquarters, beaten by investigators and subjected to electric-shock torture with EE8 electric cord wound around his fingers. He does not recall how many days this continued. He was unconscious a number of times. He asked the investigators to buy his body in Seoul instead of transporting his disfigured body to his birthplace. He had a liver ailment and as his blood did not coagulate readily, his skin was reddish from subcutaneous hemorrhage. The scars remain even now. He was like a living corpse."

Under such a situation, he was reportedly forced to sign a statement turning over his assets to the state. He writes:

"A person's assets should naturally be returned to him. I ask that all my assets, except for a mountain at Sonyong and the share to my younger brother who has established a separate household, be fairly distributed to those who may be executed in this case."

Unlike other former KCIA chiefs who took flight overseas, Kim Chae-kyu did not accumulate assets illegally. Nor does he have massive illegal assets such as the former presidential chief secretary now living abroad. Sad to say, this "supplemental statement for reasons for appeal" also tells about Pak Chong-hui's family. Pak was perturbed at Kim's report of illegal activities by an official of the women's volunteer corps for national salvation headed by his eldest daughter who is in her twenties. Further, Pak disliked Kim for suggesting that Pak's eldest son attending a military academy be sent abroad for study because he was staying out nights with women at leading hotels, thus damaging the academy's tradition. Pak Chong-hui even failed to properly dispose of such cases and was prone to be emotional toward those giving him such reports. Kim's determination grew. My journalist friend told me the following:

"I pray that military men, overconfident of their powers, will not commit any wrongs in a heat of hostility. I think that people will be relieved and rejoice if Kim Chae-kyu and the others are even sentenced to life. If they are executed, the remnants will increasingly feel that the worst has come. No doubt, the future history of the ROK will record Kim Chae-kyu as a patriot. Now, even the military establishment is unsure of itself. Much more probably would have been said at a closed hearing. This is what bothers so many. Numerous key points are lacking even in Kim Chae-kyu's

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statement and the statement of reasons for appeal. He seems to be keeping a great many secrets, only saying what is necessary in order to defend himself, and keeping secrets to himself. He has been giving testimony only after thorough calculation. Rumors are that secretly he always had a tape recorder with him whenever he met with Pak Chong-hui. This is understandable as KCIA director. Perhaps, Pak's vital statements on U.S. forces and North Korea have been recorded. Pak terms the situation in Pusan and Masan as a civil uprising but failed to disclose the number of casualties. Stories are that some 260 and 70 lost their lives in Pusan and Masan respectively. Kim reported that the uprisings in Pusan were in protest to the structure, political mistrust, high prices and high taxes. Pak Chong-hui was infuriated by this and said that from here on he would personally give the command to open fire. It is also written in the statement of reasons for appeal that Cha Chi-ch'öl, chief of security service, even made a horrible comment to the effect that even 3 million deaths in Cambodia were inconsequential, that 1 or 2 million deaths can be tolerated. If more were mentioned in the secret testimony, what is the military establishment doing about it? Its fate is at stake. A movement to save the life of Kim Chae-kyu must be undertaken, domestically and externally. But the country is in such a state that the people are afraid to suggest it."

Political Currents

The Christian churches are under the watchful eyes of the military establishment. The Church of Galilee is still closed and Friday prayer meetings, have been suspended. Special church meetings are prohibited sometimes in outlying areas. At the Korea College of Seminary, Professors An Pyong-mu and Mun Tong-hwan who had been ousted have been reinstated. The university is reportedly appealing for the restoration of their civil rights following their imprisonment in connection with the 1 March 1976 incident on declaration of national salvation of democracy. This is likely to set a precedent for other universities slated to commence classes from this March.

Talks with North Korea seem to be making headway, but the people are not excited and are not pinning high hopes. One reason is the interest on the impending political transformation. The North Korean letters to 11 [South Koreans] were immediately seized by the government after they had read them. Those who received the letters retain no copy. Three of them--Yi Hui-song, Ham Sök-hön and Kim-tae-chung--concur that talks with North Korea should be positively advanced in view of international opinion. These 11 have asked the government to permit them to address a group but have received no response. My friend's following comment about talks with North Korea is significant as a reflection of the views of ROK intellectuals:

"North Korea's liberation strategy toward South Korea is unlikely to change while Kim Il-song is alive. But tactics may change. They probably feel now is the opportune time for the talks. Unless the Choe Kyu-ha structure is able to win the people's support, there could be greater propensity for talks with North Korea. The latter also suffers from egoism of major nations. The United States is said to [continue] the deployment

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of its forces in South Korea, and Communist China has voiced its support. On the other hand, North Korea also entertains a sense of danger toward the Soviet Union because of the Afghanistan issue. The Soviet Union invariably invades areas where U.S. forces are not present. At the 30th anniversary celebrating the founding of the nation in 1978, Kim Il-song remarked that the dominationism can be found even among small nations. Indirectly he was probably referring to Vietnam. The Soviet practice of permitting entry of ROK citizens into its country does not really make the North feel good about it. The North, too, realizes that this is meant to keep it in check. North Korea is now refraining from saying one word which credits its liberation to the Soviet Union. Ideological differences and disagreements thus exist.

Economically speaking, North Korea's industrial complex to the northeast owes much to the Soviet Union, and to the northwest, to Chinese communist assistance. For the Anju sector situated north of Pyongyang, its development could be based on relations with Western Europe. To some extent North Korea probably wants to reduce tension with South Korea. It may be thinking that there can be no resolution of problems just by confronting the United States. But North Korea will probably never let up on its anti-U.S. fight in order to gain favorable terms in negotiations. The world has changed. South Korean commodities are being shipped to Eastern Europe via Hong Kong. In fiscal 1978, they reportedly were valued at \$250 million. Both North and South Korea will probably commence imports from each other, even if labels have to be removed from products."

My friend's thinking was that both North and South Korea had to face the reality. Having their own land, people and government, they both have diplomatic relations with about 100 countries of the world. Without any efforts for peaceful unification, a war would mean the tragedy of racial extermination. Such is reality. The establishment of a communist government in South Korea or an anti-communist government in North Korea is impossible. Thus, is it not futile to squander valuable resources by sending in guerrillas, hurting each other or mounting propaganda? Either side is fully aware of the adversary's tactics. Each side has to recognize the differences for mutual benefit. That is in line with racial interests and good for ultimate unification. Such were my friend's thoughts. A basic rationality transcending past politics is definitely needed in relations between North and South Korea and for the South's political climate.

But it can perhaps be said that the reality is in an endless, pitch black world. Heated arguments now prevail over the constitutional revision. Even the military establishment realizes that it cannot suppress them. But it has prohibited criticisms of past events that could destroy the Pak Chong-hui myth. The reason may be the fear of tearing down the basis of survival of the remnants. That may account for the mounting wild rumors about Pak Chong-hui. Wild rumors are known as rumor reports or in a more flashy expression, as UB Press. Among them is a report that these days Pak Chong-hui would often become heavily intoxicated, and thus he would be carried

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home on Security Service Chief Cha Chi-chŏl's back. When that happened Pak would often tell Cha that only he can be trusted, so Cha grew presumptuous and the tragedy mounted even more. My friend also spoke about Kim Hyŏng-uk, the former KCIA director missing in Paris, as follows:

"Unless the ROK Government proclaims that North Korea was responsible for anyone's disappearance, you can be sure that ROK itself was responsible. After going from New York to Paris, Kim Hyŏng-uk was called out and slain by a Paris-based KCIA minister for whom he previously worked. Ever since the Kim Tae-chung incident, the policy of kidnaping and returning an offender to the country has been scrapped. Kim Chae-kyu reportedly made a secret testimony also on this matter. There is a scary rumor as well. Pak Chong-hui asked for his (Kim's) decapitated head as proof, but changed his mind and had it taken away. We have been under the rule of such an individual and even now the remnants are moving about actively."

My friend also told me about a rumor in Hong Kong that the deaths of actress Choe Ŭn-hŭi and her husband, film director Sin Sang-ok, reported missing in Hong Kong about 2 years ago, were carried out on Pak Chong-hui's orders.

"At first, Choe Ŭn-hŭi's disappearance was blamed on North Korea. But the (ROK) Government did not choose to make it a political issue. Choe cared for and trained many young actresses, but they were ruined after being summoned to the presidential residence. Some became enamored of money or became despondent and appealed to Choe. As a result, Sin Sang-ok's film studio was oppressed and its license revoked. After Sin moved abroad, rumors began flying that he was planning to make a film on the Kim Tae-chung incident. He then vanished, and was reportedly slain. He seems to have believed that Choe had been kidnaped by North Korea. This is so much like a mystery novel."

Will the ROK advance on the road of democratization? The military establishment, of course, holds the key. Kim Tae-chung's case even now has not been newly reported in the press. An illustration is the article about the 20th anniversary of the death of Cho Pyŏng-ok who was stricken while running as an opposition party presidential candidate against Syngman Rhee in 1960. The press published the names of important figures and the text of the memorial speech by Kim Yong-sam, but failed to mention Kim Tae-chung who attracted attention in his first speech before an audience of 2,000 following his release from house arrest. He is not shown even in photographs. But a scrutiny of the same article reveals the following passage alluding to Kim:

"On this day, there was a great ovation by the doorway as members of the legal profession made their entry. As he shook hands with key politicians sitting in the front row, he was under a baptism of flashes from cameras" (16 February, TONGA ILBO).

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Because political gatherings are prohibited these days, memorial services and publications commemoration meetings are frequently held. But the military establishment has determined to leave out Kim Tae-chung's name from whatever articles there may be about the meetings. This is what is called martial law. Unless this martial law is scrapped, an election under a revised constitution is totally meaningless: There is an anxiety that the military establishment may try to maintain this law. In the background of this is Defense Security Commander Chon Tu-hwan. Ominous rumors on Chon never end. My journalist friend continued:

"General Wickham, commander of U.S. Forces in South Korea, personally visited the ROK forces deployed along the frontline in order to encourage them. The reason was that he could not feel at ease with the existing ROK military structure. To hold down the growing anti-Chon Tu-hwan sentiment, he appealed for loyalty to defense efforts. Many have an extremely dark image of Chon. During the 12 December incident, he could have caused a clash within their own forces and stirred up a crisis with North Korea. There is no telling what he might do hereafter. If his group continues to oppose Kim Tae-chung, harm may befall on Kim. What is meant by [Chon's and others] martial law is merely a tool with which to intervene in politics. It seems that those in the Choe Kyu-ha government do not want to see control passed to the opposition parties, especially Kim Tae-chung. So the future is dark. There are even rumors of Chon Tu-hwan planning to put up his retired father-in-law as a presidential candidate in order to consolidate his powers. Chon Tu-hwan is the target of public criticism. His popularity with the military is not so great. He has no powerful military units under him nor does he have the capacity to squander money. He hopes to put the former Martial Law Commander Chong Sung-hwa on trial, but there are no real charges. His group, therefore, is in a predicament. Having forcibly purged 40 to 50 generals, he would be at someone's mercy upon shedding his uniform and becoming a private citizen. As a result, it is difficult for him to make a move. These are some views."

In actuality, the issues of the military establishment and power relative to Chon Tu-hwan are not so simple. Chon was reportedly Pak Chong-hui's secretary immediately after the 16 May 1961 coup. It cannot be said that currently he has complete control of the army. Of those from his group, the first regular officers' class, only about 30 still remain in the army, half of whom are still of the field rank. In their eyes, Chon and others obtained privileges through their political connections. Further, those in the upper field rank are divided and scattered among many branches. Immediately following the 12 December incident, Chon is said to have expelled 40 senior generals and promoted the same number of colonels to brigadier general as replacements. A friend close to the military circle stated:

"There are a number of generals, including many in the field rank, who are opposed to political intervention by the military. If incidents such as

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Chon Tu-hwan's 12 December affair are condoned, it will be impossible to command the army from now on. General Wickham is believed to have returned to the United States to report on the 12 December incident. Chon may finally be forced to shed his uniform. Even now, the 9th Army Division reportedly called out by his group is unable to return to the front, the U.S. forces continuing to man that sector. The United States has no trust whatever in their contentions of political neutrality. The United States appears to be warning about a limit to its endurance of politicalization by the army. If the army threatens political stability by acting the way it has, foreign investments may be deterred and large enterprises may be forced to suspend their operation. And the defense industry will come to a complete halt. No longer will it be possible to quell the people with such slogans as economic development or national security. The military establishment, particularly the Chon Tu-hwan group, is in a difficult position."

As we discussed such matters, my colleagues began to speak about information they gathered or rumors coming to their attention. Even the NEW YORK TIMES reportedly stated that "politically conscious" South Koreans could not be ruled by a form of government other than democracy. While the United States inwardly believes that the situation will not develop into another Iran, it could be worried about possible increased anti-U.S. feelings by the South Koreans. Another colleague said:

"It is true that some in Chon's group of regular army academy graduates had grievances, but it comprises no more than 10 to 15 percent of the officers commanding the huge 600,000 man force. It would be extremely dangerous, therefore, to leave the entire force to Chon's group. That is why the U.S. forces, still retaining command of ROK forces, are holding them down. Shortly after the 12 December incident, Chon met with the U.S. ambassador. At the time, he showed displeasure at the U.S. ambassador for summoning an influential leader [Chon]. He felt that the U.S. forces were there out of their own necessity and that they would not pull out even if asked. Even now, the U.S. forces have nothing to do with him and talks are conducted through the army's chain of command. The U.S. side seems to assess Major Gen Chon Tu-hwan as a passionate individual with only the ability of a battalion commander. Perhaps for that reason, Chon is becoming increasingly politically active. He purportedly called on dissident members of the legal profession, the Republican Party and Yusin National Assembly members to discuss the possible creation of a third party. In any event, his existence is ominous."

On 12 January, the exchange rate of the won was raised from 480 to 580 against the dollar, designed to spur foreign investments and benefit foreign businesses and banks operating in South Korea. The government was anxious to boost shrinking exports and obtain massive foreign loans. The oil price had increased on 29 January by 59.4 percent, while electric rates went up by 35.9 percent in February. As a result, commodity prices have soared with no end in sight. Now, a major issue has developed over certain financial cliques making excessive profits by obtaining advance information on

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the won devaluation and oil price hike. The vice premier, before occupying the current post, worked for Daewoo Industries. Just prior to the won devaluation, many businesses purchased dollars or put off the payment of dollars. During this confusion, the government reportedly profited by 300 million won, conceding that it was ahead by more than 200 billion won. The money probably will be used to form a third party by allying with the military or it will be used for the election. When questioned by the New Democratic Party in the National Assembly on this matter, the economics minister replied that the money would be used to subsidize the people's livelihood. But there could be a link with political and election activities. My journalist friend explained:

Unfortunately in our country, rumors turn out to be more accurate than government announcements and the press. President Choe Kyu-ha's nickname is Secretary Choe. He may be a good person, but is incompetent. Initially, he expressed the hope to remain as president through an indirect election, but lately he has been expressing a desire to retire from public office. During the 12 December incident, he suffered for many hours when pressured by Chon Tu-hwan's group to order the arrest of martial law commander Chong Sung-hwa. Citing the lack of the defense minister's countersignature, he resisted, but after Chon Tu-hwan's victory became final, he put his stamp and obtained the cabinet approval on the following morning. He could not enter the Chongwadae even after he became president [sic] for Chon Tu-hwan and the others are afraid of what he might scheme at the carefully guarded site.

Prior to the 12 December incident, about 40 generals gathered regularly around martial law commander Chong Sung-hwa to discuss politics. Among them was Chon Tu-hwan who passed on the information to his own group. Chong Sung-hwa wanted to oust Chon Tu-hwan from the army, but it was the latter who made the initial move.

President Choe seems to have been depressed by all this. He hoped to establish a third party with the support of the army, financial circles, representatives of the National Conference for Unification, the members of Saemaul undong (the new village movement) and female members of the National Salvation Service Corps to endorse Sin Hyon-hwak, now prime minister. But he apparently realized that this would not gain the people's support. In fact, Sin had been imprisoned immediately after the 19 April revolution for involvement in Syngman Rhee's Liberal Party government. Such moves were founded on the belief that Kim Chong-pil and the Republican Party would be unable to defeat the opposition party and the party out of power.

My friend concluded that those moves were merely an effort by the remnants, roughly amounting to 10 percent of the population, to insure their survival. This was true also in the case of the military. To avert a violent confrontation, a realistic reconciliation and equilibrium may be needed. Thus, even those involved in the democratization struggle seem to be pursuing a

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moderate line lately. Besides, there is a strong pressure from the people. Rumors are that Pak Chong-kyu, former long-time chief of the Presidential Security Service who wielded great influence has tried to prolong his life by offering 35 billion won to the Republican Party and to Kim Chong-pil. At TONGA ILBO, its management has already transferred editorial powers to the editorial staff and is about to reinstate the ousted news correspondents. Lately, former central figures of the Pak government have all assumed an evasive attitude. A special aide to the president is said to have been turned down for employment by the Academy of Korean Studies. The government-operated KBS television station has carried a 2-hour discussion program on the constitutional revision. Mumbling that television and radio stations should be publicly-operated, they are asking themselves why they had supported Yusin up to now. The mass media, realizing that articles by government scholars of the Yusin faction will not sell newspapers and magazines, are pinning their hopes on writers espousing the democratization movement. Even such a magazine as "Peaceful Unification" published by the government's National Unification Board has omitted statements of presidential-appointed members of Yujonghoe. Government intellectuals have been dropped from even government publications, and formerly shunned dissidents are being welcomed with open arms.

In such a movement of the masses, we must look to historic signs. Outwardly, there may be no change. But the majority of the people have undergone a change owing to quiet pressure, despite martial law conditions. An outward shell may remain, but the substance is about to crumble away at some point. Could history change in this manner? I shall quote my journalist friend on the general political current concerning constitutional revision and the coming presidential election:

"Obviously, the members of the Choe Kyu-ha structure dislike the transfer of power to the opposition. They assert that they would come up with a government bill on the constitutional revision, while the long-oppressed Yujonghoe members of the National Assembly also claim they too are qualified to draft a plan for the revised constitution. Though they all present a democratic face, they just want to protect their own skin. Even if the opposition forces should come into power, a swift change cannot be anticipated. The emergence of military is also difficult. But it could be that such a situation would provide a stable base for society. The ruling party has only Kim Chong-pil, though much assailed, as its leader, while the party of power has national leaders such as Kim Tae-chung and Kim Yong-sam on their side. The military is not at all unified. Its armed forces still have a shallow tradition and virtually no lineage. Between Kim Tae-chung and Kim Yong-sam, the former enjoys a greater national popularity and political ability. It has been said that 300 or more people call on him daily. Some reasons cited for the visits were to determine whether the rumors of his permanent disability were true. But there is no way to ascertain the power distribution within the New Democratic Party. There have been reports of Kim Tae-chung assuming the lead within the party. On the other hand, Kim Yong-sam reportedly has consolidated his position and taken a

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greater lead owing to his appointment as the new district party committee chairman. My friend, who is knowledgeable about the New Democratic Party, was concerned over the possibility of funds obtained from the financial cliques leading to corruption within the New Democratic Party and its exposure in the election war."

Today's dispatch has been too lengthy. I am snowed under by work that remains to be done.

The economic conditions are not rosy. As of the end of last year, foreign loans reached \$26 billion, according to the government. Young people contend that such an amount roughly equals the sum taken out of the country by financial cliques of the influential class. The problem of corruption in the Pak government cannot be easily overlooked. While commodity prices have increased, the prices of farm products are still the same. There is economic slowdown and a growing unemployment.

Labor unions have finally embarked on self-purification. There has been a growing criticism of their corrupt practices over the Tongil Textile incident and YH Trading Co. The present ROK Federation of Labor Unions chairman, Kim Yong-t'ae, the mastermind of the manure incident at Tongil Textile, has vanished under pressure to resign by the majority of branch chiefs. The wealth that he accumulated during his association with KCIA and the firm is under investigation. In an air of anxiety, all of them are hanging on to their present positions as a means of self-preservation. No matter how strong the reactionary moves of the remnants, no one can arrest the gears of history starting to revolve.

Lastly, I wish to touch on two more items before closing.

I have beside me a document authored by Yim Ho, a National Assembly member from the ruling Democratic Republican Party, titled, "An Invitation and Request to Party President Kim Chong-pil." It asks for the self-discipline of the Republican Party and for Kim Chong-pil's "secession from the front-line of party politics." It points out that the Republican Party and Kim Chong-pil should reexamine the past and restrain themselves. Even now more political funds are being spent than during the Pak Chong-hui era, and it asks the reason for and the source of such funds. No longer do we live in the era when people can be bought by these funds. I shall have to continue monitoring this matter.

Another point concerns Kim Tae'chung's posture toward Japan. Owing to his painful experience of being arrested, he has a bitter memory of Japan. But his gratitude to the Japanese people has no bounds. He told my friend that "I do not wish to touch on old wounds if possible. I want to think ahead and cooperate in establishing a genuine ROK-Japan relation for the common good of East Asia. I have also mentioned my feelings to the members of the Japanese Embassy."

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I firmly believe that the South Korean people, envisioning a democratized South Korea, will realistically, rationally and carefully cope with and create a new history even though the madness of the Pak government may briefly prevail. I am certain that a brighter political climate will emerge, transcending the old one. I earnestly hope my foreign friends will understand and encourage them.

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